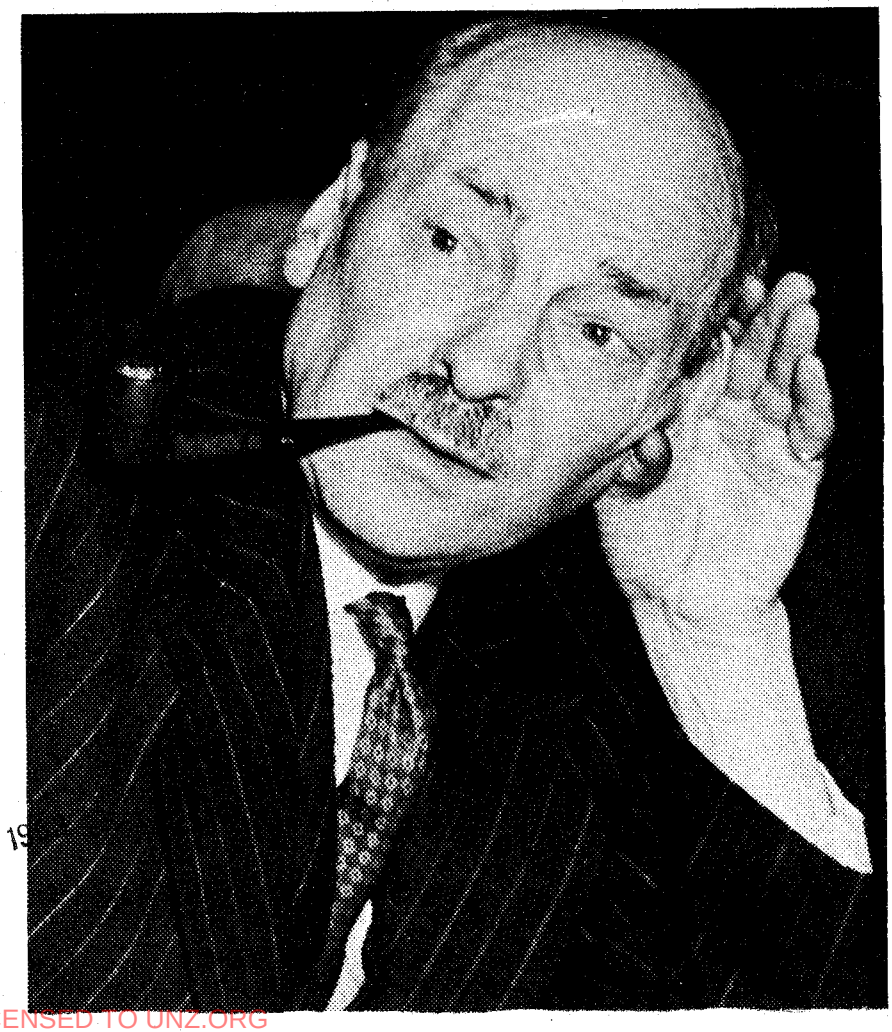
20c JUNE 8, 1953

STEVENSON IN BURMA

New Republic

A. Powell Davies

THE BEWITCHMENT OF REBECCA WEST



For the Record

What Attlee Really Said About America

An M.P. Explains

Background of British Fears

JUN 10 19

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From Our Readers

Non-Sequitur

● There is one exchange in the McCarthy hearing on James Wechsler that I thought illustrated the caliber of our Investigator-in-Chief:

McCarthy: "Do you know of any Communists in the government today?"

Wechsler: "No."

McCarthy: "Do you know Bernard De Voto?"

Wechsler: "I trust this is not sequitur."

McCarthy: "Pardon?"

Wechsler: "I trust this is not a sequitur."

McCarthy: "This is a question!"

There is no room in this country for a man who tries to stifle the freedom of speech, the freedom of the press, and makes America a place where there is no freedom from fear.

When is the administration going to wake up to the fact that Senator McCarthy is just a publicity hound and a demagogue who is looking for personal power?

New York City JAMES A. BLOCK

Peace Settlements

● In your review of Churchill's speech you say that point three involves the admission of Communist China to the United Nations. It seems that this is only right and proper. Then you add that this also involves the return of Soviet troops to Soviet frontiers. I believe that this is also right and proper. Now, does it not similarly imply the return of United States, British, French and other troops to their frontiers? If not, why not? From the newspapers and a look at a world globe one can easily see that it is not the Russians or Chinese who have their troops in other peoples lands thousands of miles from their legitimate frontiers. Are you willing to concede that the same rules of conduct apply to English-speaking peoples as to Russians, Chinese, Germans and any others? . . .

New York City PAUL B. LINE

Jung and Freud

● In reference to Kathleen Raine's review of Jung's *Psychology and Alchemy* (May 18), I would like to make one comment.

While Miss Raine, I think, rightly underscores Jung's great contribution to a "new" understanding of the nature of religion, she seems to me entirely at variance with and unfamiliar about Freud's writings and teachings. Nowhere in Freud's works is there an indication that he was "curiously blind to the importance of the religions and arts of mankind."

On the contrary! Freud has, often enough, pointed out the blessings for (and cure toward) mental illness in an individual's deep, but not fanatic, belief in religion. He has stressed what Miss Raine seems to be all too innocent about namely the demarcation line between religion and the sciences. . . .

If one, therefore, wishes to make an (artificial) distinction between the two disciplines at all, it could be said that the two founders used religion in a different way and explained religion differently.

Los Angeles, Calif. HANS A. ILLING

● . . . I was surprised to see Jung considered "a turning point in Western thought," and even compared with Freud to the latter's disadvantage. To me this seems comparable to calling Velikovsky "a turning point in Western thought" and ranking him above Einstein. . . .

To generalize a step, is it fair . . . to present in your book section, reviewers of an illiberal and ignorant point of view? Are you sacrificing your own convictions in order to display big names, like Kathleen Raine, of the Jung review, or, for a further example, Allen Tate, who not long ago in an *NR* review implied that Catholicism was Truth?

Seattle, Washington DAVID DRAKE

● . . . This week in *NR* we get Jung once more as the feature literary attraction, and with him, again, the biased interpretation and over-estimation of his work which have made him fashionable among certain types of religiously inclined intellectuals.

. . . Kathleen Raine's review of *Psychology and Alchemy* is typical of the distortion of fact that these sincere and well-meaning people indulge in because of their *priori* religious, political, social and literary opinions. Her statement, for example, that Freud was "curiously blind to the importance of the religions and arts to mankind" is so obviously false that on the grounds of scholarship alone it must be condemned. Freud, who was one of the first to study religion and art from the psychonanalytical point of view, whose *Totem and Taboo* is a milestone on the subject, never held the views that are attributed to him in that review.

I do not wish to engage in a literary or psychological quarrel. The story of Jung's political and philosophical persuasions is a long and complicated one, while his psychological theories are in repute mostly with literary intellectuals, little with the doctor's conveniently denounced by Raine in the review. The subtlety with which Jung is presented as a major thinker in contradistinction to Freud is admirable only in its sophistry, and its adroitness.

To those of us who fight hard and consistently for the social values of a quite different order—the ones we think the *NR* stands for—the appearance in your journal of these contrary views is

(*Continued on page 4*)

To Our Readers

● Published in the Sunday *Times*, Rebecca West's articles on McCarthyism appeared as an effort to clear up British misunderstanding. Reprinted in *U. S. News & World Report* her arguments take on a significance which she may regret. The *NR* seems the proper place for a reply, and A. Powell Davies the right author, for he was born and educated in England while the *NR* introduced Miss West to the United States.

* * *

Adlai Stevenson travels back from India to Burma in the *NR* this week. That is neither his itinerary, nor the intent of our distinguished Burmese correspondent who completed his story on schedule and sent it airmail—on the *Comet* which crashed on May 6.

* * *

Francis Biddle retired as National Chairman of Americans for Democratic Action at the close of its Sixth Annual Convention last week. He earned the gratitude of ADA, and he deserves our thanks for his continuing efforts on behalf of the *NR*. In response to our need for new readers he has not only bought subscriptions for a wide circle of friends but written to other friends across the country asking them to take on the same responsibility.

* * *

The ADA turned to three leaders to replace Biddle; Mrs. Roosevelt, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. and James Doyle of Wisconsin. It recruited for its National Board some of the best minds of the Truman Administration, including Arthur Altmeyer and Thomas Finletter. Altogether, the 600 delegates proved that the high spirits stirred up by the 1952 campaign have not flagged.

My only reservation about the ADA convention concerned my own work as a member of its Foreign Policy Commission. Following instructions, we boiled down a policy for China, a position on Germany, a solution for the Middle East, into a few paragraphs which the delegates then considered. In a democratic organization, the chapters properly set policy for the National Board to follow. And yet perhaps George Kennan's suggestion that democracy and diplomacy do not easily mix applies to liberal organizations as well as to Republican Senators. Objectives are important in foreign affairs; positions are expendable. And the world's problems are too complex, too interrelated, too obscure, to be reduced to a paragraph apiece. After an evening's discussion with India's Vice Premier and leading philosopher, Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, I realized with relief that we had agreed on no positions at all.

M. S.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

THE CORONATION, now happily over, presented a fascinating problem in trigonometry at one stirring moment when Britain's best jet fighters swooped down on the Royal Procession—flying in "locked wings" formation. As we understand it the problem was at just what angle they could dive low enough so the Queen could see them without her Crown falling off.

Into humdrum Washington, meanwhile, Bob Taft—confined in a Cincinnati hospital with a painful hip ailment—fired an explosive speech saying that the US should go -it-alone in Korea if we can't get a UN truce. It is suggested Taft shot from his sore hip.

A radio panel that queried Joe McCarthy some time back noted a gun in his attache-case. The boys figured it was a publicity plant and didn't write about it.

Three assistant secretaryships in the department of Secretary Durkin—the forgotten plumber of the Cabinet—are still vacant while a quiet background struggle continues. Following custom, CIO President Walter Reuther was asked to propose a man for one vacancy but his nominee, John Edelman of the Textile Workers Union, is still held up at the White House because adviser Sherman Adams says Edelman years ago was a Socialist.

During the campaign Ike flatly told the AFL convention, September 17, that he knew the T-H Act "might be used to break unions," and promised revision. This is just one of the big bills which Ike now finds stalemated. The record of the GOP 83rd Congress to date, under weak White House leadership, is almost negligible save for the "give-away" offshore oil bill.

Typical of this Congress is the almost straight GOP vote killing the proposed Federal Trade Commission study of the sources of middlemen's profits. The story is simple—can be understood by anybody: in 1952 the average American family spent $18 more for food than a year before but the farmer got $7 less. The "Mystery of the Missing $25" must be multiplied by millions of US families. Democrats voted almost as a man for the inquiry in behalf of farmers and consumers. They lost.

Many pro-Eisenhower newspapers, like the New York *Times*, argue Ike didn't specifically promise tax cuts in his campaign. They have forgotten the GOP spot announcement in the last "blitz" radio drive:

"VOICE: Mr. Eisenhower, can you bring taxes down?

"EISENHOWER: Yes. We will work to cut billions in Washington spending and bring your taxes down."

Friends were proud to see ex-President Conant of Harvard, US High Commissioner of Germany, publicly attend the big farewell party at Bonn in honor of Theodore Kaghan, fired for standing up to McCarthy's gumshoers, Cohn & Schine, in their fantastic tour of Europe. Raymond Swing resigned from the "Voice of America" program in protest of this Kaghan discharge by Scott McLeod, the State Department's new security officer. McLeod is the appointee of McCarthy; Dulles has given him a completely free hand. McLeod publicly announces that he is following a "ruthless" policy of resign-or-be-fired, and Department morale is at an all-time low.

Who can grudge harassed Ike his relaxation? This takes the form not merely of golf, but of bridge. The other day Ike with three friends, able Treasury Secretary Humphrey, Air Force Secretary Talbott and the irrepressible George Allen (who is now court jester for his second President) played a genial game of contract from afternoon to mid-

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night. Humphrey went off for a radio interview and returned to pick up the game afterwards.

We went to Ike's press conference last Thursday, the day after the Taft explosion, and felt a warm glow for the President as he repudiated isolationism, said earnest, heartfelt, sensible things about America's need for friends, and finally allowed the press to quote directly his eloquent monosyllable "No" to Taft himself. It was as fine an extemporaneous appeal for patience and international steadfastness as you could wish. Once more Ike appeared at his best as a man of good-will.

A curious feature was that Ike had not read the actual Taft text: reporters read him aloud the salient paragraphs with which it appeared the President was only generally familiar through the headline route. He was also unaware of a connected event: the Senate Appropriations Committee the afternoon before had adopted an isolationist "rider" cancelling any future funds for UN if Red China is ever admitted. Asked to comment on the vote, Ike could not believe at first it had happened, though it had occurred 20 hours before and was the subject of morning paper headlines.

It is a deeply depressing fact that a President so patently a man of good-will, and who makes such fine statements when pressed, apparently doesn't read the papers and seems a bit hazy on what is going on. Maybe that is the summary of the Eisenhower Administration. Fortunately it can still change.

Notes: Our pet project for ADA (following its fine convention here) is a campaign to inspire fair-minded businessmen to sponsor fair-minded radio and TV commentators; surely it could get a sponsor for Elmer Davis in benighted Chicago over ABC station "WLS"; or for Martin Agronsky in Washington. . . . The third round of "Ike-is-now-a-leader" press stories runs smack into the news that Ike is urging his legislative leaders to get Congress out of Washington as soon as possible despite its barren record. . . .

Washington T.R.B.

LETTERS

(*Continued from page* 2)

disheartening as a steady diet. The liberal imagination—to borrow a phrase from Trilling—is under attack from all quarters. You recognize it from McCarthy, but when it takes a more complex form amounting to anti-intellectuality, you seem somehow unaware. There are not many humanists left, but there are a few, and they remember Arnold, Tocqueville and Mill, not Babbitt, More, Pound and Jung. It is all very well for the Luce publications to promote Jung—as they have lately—as part of their pro-Catholic, anti-intellectual, anti-liberal slant. To see it in *NR* is quite another matter.

Surely there is no objection to having the views of pro-Jungians, with all its ramifications, freely expressed in your pages. But not exclusively. If I overstate the case, if I forget that Perry Miller reviewed the Laski book the same day, it is because I am angry and disappointed at the prospect of the future in the literary section of the *NR*.

I should like to point out, too, that there is no bias I do want—I am not a Catholic, a Marxist, or anything else definable as a line. I am concerned with American democracy, with freedom of inquiry, liberty and other intangibles which must always be safeguarded against constant attack. In the battle of words, in the market-place of opinion, the truth will prove stronger than error. But we face a situation where more and more people are losing that faith as there are fewer and fewer places where the truth is heard.

There is a titanic struggle going on in which the American intellectual must be engaged. Between the established church and the established commissar, we are being constantly pulled toward one side or the other, and one has sympathy for those who cannot secure the middle-ground but must have one or the other; or perhaps, like Mr. Auden, both in the order that proves most fashionable.

Some highbrows had better get into politics, where they can stimulate the liberal imagination anew without powerful doses of dogma; and where they can protect those concomitants of real liberty of mind which are lost in the mediocrity of the ordinary political mind. If I had not already done just that, I would not, of course, cite it. Because I have, and because here in Philadelphia we in the city government are proud of what we are doing, I am willing to assume some authority for attacking our antagonists when they rear their ugly heads—in the Police Department or in the *NR*. . . .

Philadelphia, Pa. E.K.

Conclusive Proof

● I find myself in full agreement with the letter of Mr. Gregory B. Stone (*NR*, May 18) in which he offers "conclusive proof" that your publication is "Communist." Since McCarthy attacks Communists and you in turn attack McCarthy, Mr. Stone's charge of "Communist" leveled to you is indisputable.

However, in view of recent events, we enlightened reactionaries have renounced McCarthy as our gladiator. The reason is simple. The Russians have long attacked the Voice of America, and now, McCarthy attacks the Voice. I submit this as "conclusive proof" that McCarthy is a Communist, *n'est ce pas?*

New Orleans, La. RUBEN W. KNOWLES

Bandwagon

Piling insult on stupidity, Attlee then said there were people in this country who did not want peace. . . .

Clement Attlee, an Englishman, should well know that there are different shades of peace. – *From "Editor's Report" by William Randolph Hearst Jr.*

* * *

Junior-class delegate Stan Feinstein's motion to have LIU award a plaque to the man or woman in the US who has done most to aid academic freedom was voted down after a spirited discussion. . . . Among reasons given against having the award was that it might bring Sen. Joseph McCarthy down on LIU. – *From the Long Island University* Seawanhaka.

* * *

The company [Metropolitan Life Insurance], Carb said, "has no discrimatory policy against a minority group." He said there were no Negroes in the the development which has 12,500 tenants. – *From the San Francisco* Chronicle.

* * *

His own idea with respect to public housing, he said, was to go ahead with the number of units provided for in the budget estimates. But he had not pressed the argument, he said, because there was no principle involved. – *From President Eisenhower's press conference of April 23, 1953, as reported in the Washington* Post.

* * *

When the intrinsic impact of a great deal of daily war news is no longer available, Roy Roberts, editor of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, remarked, "The literary quality of newspaper writing must of necessity be higher." —*From* Editor & Publisher.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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VOLUME 128, NUMBER 23, ISSUE 2010, WASHINGTON, D. C., JUNE 8, 1953 **New Republic**

COMMUNIST BRAINWASHING—ARE WE PREPARED?

WE KNOW now what happened in the brainwashing. The American soldiers captured by the Chinese Communists were taken first to temporary camps. There they were screened and a selected group was chosen for indoctrination at the base that become known as "the University of Pyuktong." This group in turn was divided into squads of 14 men. A monitor was picked from each squad and given three days of intensive indoctrination. Then, equipped with pencils and papers, the prisoners were presented with the "truth."

No force was used; no heavy punishment was given. Patient, pleasant, well-informed instructors, led discussions and set examinations. The "University President" was always ready for a friendly argument, and ready-rolled cigarettes were laid out on the table in his hut. A good essay might earn a trip with the instructor to the local town. So most of the men learned to give the right answers for (as one former prisoner noted) "if you hadn't had nothing but leaf tobacco for a long time—your mouth would water for . . . a few peanuts or an apple." Soon the men who said the right things found themselves thinking the right thoughts.

The right thoughts — first the prisoners were taught, with plenty of supporting facts, that the South Koreans started the war. Next they were shown, with ample illustration, that big business profits from war. They heard high-ranking US officers describe how they had dropped germ-laden bombs on North Korea. They learned that the capitalist press presents a biased picture of life in the New Democracies. Eventually they gathered that to be a Communist was not to be disloyal to their country. Their text was not Lenin but Mark Twain:

> My kind of loyalty was loyalty to one's country not to its institutions or its office-holders. The country is the real thing. . . . Institutions are . . . mere clothing and clothing can wear out, become ragged. To be loyal to rags, to worship rags, to die for rags—that is a loyalty of unreason, it is pure animal.

After a year of this, one prisoner wrote in his Peace Diary all prisoners were induced to keep:

> I've undergone a complete metamorphosis of intellect. Just a year ago I was a dreamy boy, addicted to the habit of reading . . . but making very little attempt to penetrate very deeply the whys and wherefores of the . . . world about me.
>
> Now I am diametrically opposed to almost everything I previously considered as infallible and accepted as truth. . . . it was difficult naturally because I had been reared in the spurious atmosphere of fear of God where any close scrutiny of religion was considered a sacrilege. . . . But . . . I have examined religion and realized its implausibility and its many absurdities which question man's intellect and still find myself among the living. . . . The most revolutionary change in my intellect has been however my change of outlook. . . . I realize now that Socialism and eventual Communism can produce the heaven on earth so many people seek in the great beyond.

When finally the prisoners were released they were told, "Go home and start a peace and truth campaign of your own. Fight for peace and truth." A prisoner back at the Valley Forge Hospital concluded: "They didn't tell us how to start a truth campaign. They knew we already knew."

These facts are drawn from a *Life* magazine story. And *Life* concludes that everything will be all right. The brainwashed will go back home. There they will date old girl friends, lick an extra dollop of ice cream at the corner drug-store, sip cokes, and watch the shiny new cars roll by. And soon the dangerous thoughts *unanswered at the intellectual level* will fade in the comforting hum of American life.

Are we really so secure? We paid little attention to the experiences of the Nazi soldiers who returned from Russia obeying Stalin in place of Hitler, or the Imperial troops sent back as Communists to Japan. We didn't need to notice them because the Communists were on our side then. Now it is our turn to catch a glimpse of the future. It raises the Iron Curtain on a war of religions, fought as it was fought in the Middle Ages when armies set out to convert each other, subjecting prisoners to passionate argument, freeing converts and torturing the unconvinced.

Are our young men prepared for these trials of faith and conviction? The Roosevelt youth gained practical idealism and learned through political participation to distinguish between the morality of professed Communist ideas and the moral bankruptcy of the Communist Party. But today's young men are sent to war unprepared. Nor can the army indoctrination courses suffice, in which one man spouts prefabricated arrogance and the rest catch up on sacktime. By then it is already too late. Minds taught to respond without reflection to the slogans of our political hucksters are softened

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up for the hucksters on the Communist side. Minds conditioned to identify life's chief purpose as the pursuit of wealth remain susceptible to an appeal to conscience and idealism as was the diarist who fell for the Communist vision of heaven on earth.

Brainwashing, the scrubbing of the mind clean of previously held conviction, is only the first step in the test to which our young men may be subjected. The second stage is the indoctrination of the Communist faith. It is positive as well as evil, universal while it serves one nation. Against that absolutist faith Jefferson, Holmes and Brandeis had a democratic faith in due process of law and freedom for all men to set against the Communist faith. What positive faith is offered by McCarthy and his kind?

HOW ATTLEE WAS MISREPRESENTED

"ONE OF THE disadvantages of the American system of democracy is that it is sometimes hard to find where effective power lies."

These sentences might have been taken from a column by Walter Lippmann. They are, in fact, the heart of Clement Attlee's speech of May 11. Fair-minded observers will conclude that Attlee's comments are sound and to the point. But not all observers are fair-minded. The Chicago *Tribune* Press Service, in ostensibly summarizing the speech, reported:

"Attlee found fault with the American people, the American Constitution, the American system of government and the American government itself, past and present."

In fact, as the text published in this issue proves, Attlee voiced the highest praise for American governments past and present. He commended the American people. He plainly declared that his comments on our Constitution and system were not criticism but an effort to state "facts . . . which do not always seem to be apprehended."

A graver distortion was caused by a change, perhaps inadvertent, of a verb tense in Attlee's speech. Attlee, commenting on our Constitution, concluded rightly that when it was written "Americans did not want to have anything to do with Europe." But the Chicago *Tribune* Press Service reported Attlee as declaring: "Americans do not want to have anything to do with Europe."

Still worse was the distortion concerning the Big Four conference. Attlee endorsed the conference, assumed that Eisenhower would attend, and, mindful of Wilson's fate after the last peace settlement, asked simply that the President be assured, by careful preparation, of the consent and co-operation of the Congress. This constructive comment, as processed by the Chicago *Tribune* Press Service, appeared as an assertion that Attlee "doubted the wisdom of President Eisenhower's attendance."

Twenty-three newspapers subscribe to the Chicago *Tribune* Press Service. Nineteen, to their credit, chose the AP or UP dispatches on Attlee's speech. But the Washington *Times Herald* and Senator McCarthy did not. Correct reports of the speech were printed by the Washington *Star*, the Washington *Post*, the New York *Times* and the *Herald Tribune*. The full text of Attlee's speech was available in the Library of Congress on May 14. Yet on that day, McCarthy, relying solely on the *Times Herald* report, made his attack on Great Britain.

McCarthy accused Britain of compromising with Communism:

> Attlee may well have performed the first service for us . . . in his long and odious career, in that he may have unknowingly torn away the sham of all-out British support of American attempts to defeat Communism.

McCarthy accused Attlee of spreading Communism:

> I can understand why Attlee would hate Eisenhower. He was getting along right well before the 20th of January. The team of Attlee and Acheson was doing an excellent job of working with the Communists toward the expansion of Communist control throughout the world.

McCarthy called Attlee a Communist. He quoted him as using the term "comrades" and added:

"As the Senate well knows in the Communist jargon the phrase 'comrades' means only one thing; it means fellow Communists."

("Comrades" of course is the standard greeting among Labour Party members as it is among members of the American Legion.)

McCarthy called for war on Britain as a maritime power:

"If they are trying to blackmail us into accepting a Communist peace on the ground that if we do not they will withdraw, I say 'withdraw and be damned' and then, Mr. President, let us sink every accursed ship carrying materials to the enemy . . . regardless of what flag those ships may fly!"

Obviously the Chicago *Tribune* Press Service which wrote the poisonous story, the newspapers which publicized it, and McCarthy who used it to incite hatred of Britain should apologize to Mr. Attlee and inform their followers of the truth.

Some chance!

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THE WEEK

FARMER EISENHOWER

At the government's Beltsville, Md., Agricultural Experiment Station, President Eisenhower sampled some of the products of the great research program and told a small group of the top agricultural scientists: "I read in the papers of making a lot of promises that I did not make. But I did make one which shows I'm not as stupid as I sometimes appear. That was that we needed more research."

If the President had studied his own budget, he might have amended his statement. The Agriculture Research Administration, for which President Truman had requested $79.5 million, was cut to $77.1 million in the Eisenhower budget, and the House Appropriations Committee whacked it down to $75.8 million.

SOCIAL INSECURITY

In a little publicized speech by the Senate Majority Leader, before the American Medical Association's House of Delegates recently, Robert A. Taft revealed the shape of his planned attack on the Social Security System which has been in operation for 18 years. Declaring that federal activity in the Old Age Survivors Insurance plan is "not necessary," Taft went on to say:

> As I look back over the 20 years of the Roosevelt Administration, I have warned against many Socialistic plans that were attempted, but I think perhaps the greatest advance toward Socialism that was actually made was the establishment of the social security program. I think it put the federal government into a field where it did not properly belong, but it is there. I hope that we may revise it so as simply to recognize that it is an exception to everything and that we may set up some kind of a direct pay-as-you-go federal pension system. . . .

Taft, of course, was endorsing the new social security plan now being advocated by the US Chamber of Commerce (see *NR*, April 27). As Majority Leader, his words portend Congressional action in this field.

A group of 60 representatives of labor, religious and women's organizations recently met in Washington, D. C., to form a united opposition to any attempt to scuttle the present social security system. Edwin Witte, who was among the original drafters of the Social Security Act and now a professor at the University of Wisconsin, told the group that the C of C proposal to pay $25 a month to everyone over 65 years old would mean that the $18 billion reserve built up by wage earners and their employers for almost two decades would be depleted and that the plan would throw the public assistance burden on the state. Today, 86 percent of the old people on public welfare rolls receive more than the proposed $25 a month; 61 percent receive more than $40 and 46 percent more than $50.

THE FIFTH AMENDMENT

A federal appellate court judge recently observed that more individuals have been cited for contempt of Congress in the past three years than during the preceding 92 years. Nearly all of the latter-day recalcitrants have been cited for refusing to answer questions put to them by investigating committees, the refusals being based upon the witnesses' constitutional right to decline to incriminate themselves. And for the most part the courts have sustained these witnesses in their refusal to answer.

This rash of reliance on the Fifth Amendment's protection against self-incrimination has produced an inevitable reaction from Congress. Senator McCarran has introduced a bill to permit the granting of immunity from criminal prosecution so that the Fifth Amendment cannot thereafter be used as a shield against answering questions. The bill provides that immunity may be granted to any witness by a majority vote of either House of Congress or by a two-thirds vote of the committee involved.

The McCarran bill almost slipped through the Senate without debate. It was spotted in the nick of time and has since been subjected to searching analysis by legal authorities and other interested persons. This analysis has produced several penetrating comments on the bill: (1) the

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REPUBLIC
A Journal of Opinion

"When Daniel Webster picked out the thing that above all others he would leave to his posterity it was a record that in all circumstances he had favored freedom of opinion, in war as in peace, more essentially for opinions that were in bad repute. I wish I could remember who it was that warned the House of Commons against taking from the rattlesnake the rattle by which he gives warning of his approach, and leaving the sting with which he kills. In suppressing opinion we take away the rattle. In failing to put into practice new institutions needed by the time we leave the sting. Let us remember how Lincoln was one of only two men to vote right in the Illinois legislature on a bill that touched the most impassioned issue of that day. In a time like this to be free means for a while to be misunderstood. Why not? Is the intellectual life to be all flabby, with no rugged stretches? Is hardihood to exist only in the body? Let us hear the drum music of our own convictions. The ultimate call just now is the spirit. What can a man do better than to refuse to sell integrity for a mean quiescence?"—NORMAN HAPGOOD, *New Republic*, January 28, 1920.

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power to grant immunity from criminal prosecution should be vested not in a legislative body or committee but with the Attorney-General, who has the duty and responsibility of conducting prosecutions; (2) there is serious doubt whether Congress can authorize the granting of immunity from state criminal prosecutions; (3) the whole idea of immunity is dangerous since it permits those who have committed crimes to use a Congressional investigating committee as an escape from accountability and since it also tempts men to perjure themselves about their past life.

THE HARMLESS TRUTH

A Cleveland, Ohio, judge has temporarily enjoined members of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America from peacefully picketing the 70 retail clothing stores operated in 35 states by the Richman Brothers Co. The company manufactures men's clothing at its non-union plant in Cleveland. Reaching far beyond the geographical bounds of the court's jurisdiction, the injunction prevents the union from picketing even in states where such action has been held legal. And despite its temporary label, the injunction can be effective indefinitely. It cannot be appealed under Ohio law; nor can it be taken to the federal Supreme Court. Any violation invites criminal contempt action.

For the past two years the union had been picketing the retail stores, carrying banners that read: "Richman Brothers' clothes are not union made. Buy union made clothes. Richman Brothers' clothes do not have a union label. Buy clothes which have a union label." The judge conceded that this language expressed the absolute truth and was "innocent and harmless." But, he said, the banners "may very well create a mental impression on the part of the public which is not at all contained within the language on the banner . . . the impression that a legal dispute exists between the company and the Amalgamated; that the company does not treat its employees fairly; that something is amiss." In other words, one may not freely speak the harmless truth if there is a possibility that others may obtain a false impression growing out of "that

GOP Cuts Hospital Construction

The latest economy move of the Eisenhower Administration cut deeply into the public-health and hospital-construction programs. The House whacked $63.8 million from the proposed Truman budget for the Public Health Service. And by a margin of only six votes, the House defeated an attempt to increase the hospital construction appropriation for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare by $25 million. President Truman had requested $75 million for hospital construction; the House cut it to $50 million. Under the Hill-Burton Act, the hospital-construction building program is on a matching basis with state and local funds. The $25 million cut means that approximately 7,500 beds cannot be provided despite Public Health Service estimates that an additional 200,000 general hospital beds are needed today.

A motion by Rep. John Fogarty (D, R.I.) to restore $25 million to the Health Appropriation was defeated by a vote of 197 to 203. Only 31 Republicans joined 166 Democrats voting for the increase; 30 Democrats, 1 Independent and 172 Republicans opposed it. Those who voted against the measure are recorded below:

Republicans against (172)

Allen (Calif.)	Davis (Wis.)	Jonas (N.C.)	Rees (Kans.)
Allen (Ill.)	Dawson (Utah)	Kean (N.J.)	Rhodes (Ariz.)
Andersen, H. C. (Minn.)	Derounian (N.Y.)	Kearns (Pa.)	Riehlman (N.Y.)
Andresen, A. H. (Minn.)	Devereux (Md.)	Keating (N.Y.)	Rogers (Mass.)
Arends (Ill.)	D'Ewart (Mont.)	Kilburn (N.Y.)	Sadlak (Conn.)
Ayres (Ohio)	Dondero (Mich.)	King (Pa.)	St. George (N.Y.)
Bates (Mass.)	Ellsworth (Ore.)	Knox (Mich.)	Saylor (Pa.)
Beamer (Ind.)	Fenton (Pa.)	Krueger (N. Dak.)	Schenck (Ohio)
Belcher (Okla.)	Ford (Mich.)	Laird (Wisc.)	Scherer (Ohio)
Bender (Ohio)	Frelinghuysen (N.J.)	Latham (N.Y.)	Scrivner (Kans.)
Bentley (Mich.)	Gavin (Pa.)	LeCompte (Iowa)	Scudder (Calif.)
Berry (S. Dak.)	George (Kans.)	Lovre (S. Dak.)	Seely-Brown (Conn.)
Betts (Ohio)	Golden (Ky.)	McConnell (Pa.)	Shafer (Mich.)
Bishop (Ill.)	Goodwin (Mass.)	McCulloch (Ohio)	Sheehan (Ill.)
Bolton, Frances (Ohio)	Graham (Pa.)	McDonough (Calif.)	Short (Mo.)
Bolton, Oliver (Ohio)	Gross (Iowa)	McGregor (Ohio)	Simpson (Ill.)
Bonin (Pa.)	Gubser (Calif.)	McIntire (Me.)	Simpson (Pa.)
Bosch (N.Y.)	Gwinn (N.Y.)	McVey (Ill.)	Small (Md.)
Bow (Ohio)	Halleck (Ind.)	Mack (Wash.)	Smith (Kans.)
Bramblett (Calif.)	Hand (N.J.)	Mailliard (Calif.)	Smith (Wis.)
Bray (Ind.)	Harden (Ind.)	Martin (Iowa)	Stauffer (Pa.)
Brown (Ohio)	Harrison (Nebr.)	Mason (Ill.)	Taber (N.Y.)
Brownson (Ind.)	Harvey (Ind.)	Meader (Mich.)	Talle (Iowa)
Broyhill (Va.)	Hess (Ohio)	Merrill (Ind.)	Thompson (Mich.)
Budge (Idaho)	Hiestand (Calif.)	Miller (Md.)	Tollefson (Wash.)
Busbey (Ill.)	Hillelson (Mo.)	Miller (Nebr.)	Utt (Calif.)
Byrnes (Wisc.)	Hinshaw (Calif.)	Miller (N.Y.)	Van Pelt (Wis.)
Carrigg (Pa.)	Hoffman (Ill.)	Morano (Conn.)	Van Zandt (Pa.)
Cederberg (Mich.)	Hoffman (Mich.)	Mumma (Pa.)	Velde (Ill.)
Chiperfield (Ill.)	Holmes (Wash.)	Neal (W.Va.)	Vorys (Ohio)
Church (Ill.)	Holt (Calif.)	Nelson (Me.)	Vursell (Ill.)
Clardy (Mich.)	Hope (Kan.)	Nicholson (Mass.)	Wainwright (N.Y.)
Clevenger (Ohio)	Horan (Wash.)	Norblad (Ore.)	Warburton (Del.)
Cole (Mo.)	Hosmer (Calif.)	Oakman (Mich.)	Weichel (Ohio)
Cole (N.Y.)	Hruska (Nebr.)	Ostertag (N.Y.)	Westland (Wash.)
Coon (Ore.)	Hunter (Calif.)	Patterson (Conn.)	Wharton (N.Y.)
Cotton (N.H.)	Hyde (Md.)	Pelly (Wash.)	Wigglesworth (Mass.)
Cretella (Conn.)	Jackson (Calif.)	Phillips (Calif.)	Williams (N.Y.)
Crumpacker (Ind.)	James (Pa.)	Radwan (N.Y.)	Wilson (Calif.)
Cunningham (Iowa)	Jenkins (Ohio)	Ray (N.Y.)	Wilson (Ind.)
Curtis (Mass.)	Jensen (Iowa)	Reece (Tenn.)	Wolcott (Mich.)
Curtis (Mo.)	Johnson (Calif.)	Reed (Ill.)	Young (Nev.)
Curtis (Nebr.)	Jonas (Ill.)	Reed (N.Y.)	Younger (Calif.)
Dague (Pa.)			

Democrats against (30)

Abbitt (Va.)	Dies (Tex.)	Harrison (Va.)	Mahon (Tex.)	Smith (Va.)
Bennett (Fla.)	Donovan (N.Y.)	Ikard (Tex.)	Passman (La.)	Steed (Okla.)
Bentsen (Tex.)	Dowdy (Tex.)	Jarman (Okla.)	Poage (Tex.)	Thomas (Tex.)
Bonner (N.C.)	Fisher (Tex.)	Jones (N.C.)	Regan (Tex.)	Tuck (Va.)
Burleson (Tex.)	Gentry (Tex.)	Lantaff (Fla.)	Rogers (Tex.)	Wilson (Tex.)
Campbell (Fla.)	Hardy (Va.)	Lucas (Tex.)	Shuford (N.C.)	

Independents against (1)

Reams (Ohio)

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American psychological weakness whereby our minds receive and retain a first impression." Freedom is thus made dependent upon a judge's personal view of the psychological weakness or strength of the general public. That principle is not only hard to square with Jeffersonian ideals but poses a real threat to every newspaper and periodical in the country that tries to publish the harmless truth.

GOVERNMENT BY SLOGAN

The 1952 campaign revealed that the Republican Party had devoted its leisure years to perfecting the use of huckster techniques in politics. But I-Like-Ikers were certain "the responsibilities of office" would reintroduce realism into Republican thinking. Instead, the salesman's trick of repeating a glib formula until both audience and author believe it a panacea seems to have become the Eisenhower Administration's stock approach to its problems.

There is, for example, Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson's slogan "more defense for less money." The phrase sounds like campaign oratory and as if it is meant to hide something. Behind the phrase is this:

The new Administration's first project was an examination of the budget estimates left behind by the Democrats. Wilson reviewed, looking for fat but, we must suppose, careful of muscle, then sent a revised defense budget to Budget Director Joseph M. Dodge. We do not know Wilson's recommendations, nor how realistic they may have been. But, thanks to Rep. Melvin Price (D, Ill.), we know what happened to them.

Dodge acknowledged Wilson's recommendations, then laid down a detailed defense budget of his own. His budget, said Dodge, reflected the "Administration's stated policies and budget objectives." "You," Dodge said to Wilson, "are to adjust your recommendations accordingly and present these revisions to the Appropriations Committees."

Wilson followed orders and asked for a total slash of more than $6 billion in air defense funds, part of which is hidden by a transfer of funds to the Army.

Representative Price fears that the Dodge letter means our defense spending is being determined on "the recommendations of accountants, adding machines and comptometers rather than . . . of men who have spent their entire adult careers in the study of military problems." Actually the letter indicates something far more disquieting—that the amount we spend to insure our survival is being determined on the purely huckster consideration of giving substance to past campaign charges and promises in order to buy future votes. It indicates that our defense programs are being shaped by "Administration policies and budget objectives" formulated before the examinations upon which they should have been based were ever made. For, regardless of the camouflage, these defense reductions were not made by the Budget Director. Dodge does not have the authority nor would Wilson take orders from him. The slash could only have been ordered by Eisenhower. The slogan is expected to mesmerize a public weaned on radio commercials.

WESTERN UNITY—GOING . . . GOING . . .

A NEW SPECTER has begun to haunt Western Europe. There is fear of a *de facto* repudiation by the Republican Administration of the bipartisan internationalism explicit in US support of the United Nations. And this, many Europeans believe, can be even more ominous for the future of the whole free world than was a previous Republican Administration's *de jure* repudiation of the League of Nations. Such repudiation, Europeans believe, *can* happen. And if it does, it will not be the result of frankness, even brutal, tactless frankness, in the House of Commons. Rather it may be the result of the interaction of two great struggles for personal power, both of them taking place outside Western Europe.

Let's face it. More and more sensible Europeans whose democratic sentiments are beyond question and whose opinions carry weight, are no longer sure that the struggle for power likely to affect most directly their countries—and the world's—destinies in the immediate future is taking place among the men in the Kremlin. The struggle for power which increasingly holds their attention and prompts their anxieties is being waged in Washington, symbolically at least between a man who was thought to have more power than any other on earth and a man whose appetite for power now seems boundless: President Eisenhower and Senator McCarthy.

What Attlee said publicly, perhaps too bluntly, perhaps even with distorting exaggeration, is being said privately by many thousands of other Western Europeans and thought by millions—"one wonders sometimes who is more powerful, the President or Senator McCarthy."

This talking and thinking about disturbing developments in the US are already having their influence on political trends in Europe. Pope Pius XII, Christian Democrats in West Germany and anti-clerical members of the French National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Commission would not have agreed in support of Sir Winston's notion of speedy high level West-East talks if there were not general anxiety in all European political circles about future events in the US.

A trend toward ideas of the Left, at least in foreign policy, is appearing in Great Britain and among the major peoples on the Continent. And

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everywhere it seems, in part at least, a reaction from or perhaps a compensation for, what is seen as Washington's swing toward the Right, also in foreign policy.

The situation in France is obscure and interesting. Gen. Charles de Gaulle, despite his most recent strategic retreat, is by no means finished. He seems to be making ready the psychological terrain for a new start. He hopes this time to be able to take advantage of new mass strength among those Frenchmen who, attracted neither by Malenkov's Moscow nor by a McCarthyish Washington, may turn toward a doctrine of nationalistic independence wedded to social justice and both political and economic freedom.

It is a curious amalgam that the General is counting on—and quite in the early Fascist tradition. The French regular army is turning away from the "classical Right" to de Gaulle. Now that the General has shifted back to the role of all-party messiah, moderate conservatives are also falling into line. What remains to be won is the mass basis on the labor Left.

It is significant that François Mauriac, Nobel-prize winning Catholic novelist and the leading conservative political writer in France, should assert in the *Figaro* that the most serious "sin" committed by France since the end of the war was "to have failed to understand that in a universe half dominated by the Marxist revolution, it was necessary to oppose to it another revolution—the one which French Socialism and the Christian Democrats who came to power in 1945 should have carried out together."

The notion is not new. But the idea of the need *now* of some form of revolution is a novelty in the columns of a newspaper, heretofore equally opposed to Communism and Gaullism. Mauriac plainly suggests that only de Gaulle can lead a "revolutionary" movement unmaking the "sins" of the past.

The steady narrowing of the gulf between the new Malenkov line in Western Europe—"independence and bread"—and the new Gaullist line in France is obvious.

Most Europeans believe that World War II might have been avoided if an early GOP rebel, the elder Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge, had not repudiated the League. It may not be only a European myth that a similar repudiation is again possible. But in politics, myths can have the force of fact, so long as real facts do not correct them.

The idea that McCarthy can cripple Eisenhower's effectiveness as a world leader grows at a time when the GOP Administration is in fact building curtains—material and moral—between the US and Europe. The most serious point in Attlee's speech was the implication that Europe might be forced economically to turn elsewhere than toward the US. And in the modern world, flags follow trade. Malenkov must be smiling in gratitude toward the US West—toward "Comrade" McCarthy.

Paris FRANK GORRELL

BURMA—THE BETS WILL BE ON STEVENSON

by Maung Maung

WHEN ADLAI STEVENSON and his party touched down at Rangoon airport on April 23, a crowd of Burmese officials and well-wishers awaited him, and Stevenson campaign buttons were much in evidence.

The Burmese as a race are great gamblers, but when they laid their bets four to one on Stevenson as favorite during the Presidential elections, it was not an expression of their gambling spirit merely. They hoped he would win. The ebb and flow of the election campaigns, fully covered by the Rangoon press, were closely watched by the Burmese and Adlai Stevenson soon became a household name.

The time that Adlai Stevenson arrived was rather an embarrassing one for Americans in Burma. An important American would have been ill-advised to turn up in Rangoon just then. There was no real feeling among the Burmese against Americans, but the issue of the Chinese Nationalist troops on the Burma borders had suddenly leapt into prominence and made things awkward for America-Burma relations.

The Chinese Nationalist troops, approximately 3,000 strong, had taken refuge in the Shan state of Burma when Chiang's broken forces were routed from the mainland in 1949. The 3,000 under General Li-Mi had roamed the jungle country and lived off the land and by a prosperous trade in opium. Li-Mi commanded Chiang's old 93rd division and his record was a clean sheet of no defeats and no victories because he had fought no battles. The Burma army, locked in battles with multi-colored insurgents in the country, could not give much attention to Li-Mi and he was able to build his force with reinforcements and supplies from Formosa. As their strength grew, Li-Mi's men turned aggressive and they began to raid and plunder and kill, attacking isolated government garrisons and ransacking undefended border villages. They also began to meddle in the domestic politics of the country, making alliances with rebel groups and even harboring some Communist leaders. Captured

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weapons and documents proved that American private enterprise was involved in the Chinese Nationist adventures in Burma. Late in March, the Burma army captured, in an engagement with the Chinese, three white men, dead, later identified to be Americans. These, piling one upon another, could not but make relations between the Burmese and the Americans in Rangoon rather cool, despite repeated government statements that the American government was not only innocent but had actively tried by diplomatic means to rid the country of the aggressors. Into this atmosphere Adlai Stevenson arrived, and the Burmese forgot that they were supposed to be on formal terms with Americans when they gave him a sincerely joyous welcome. Stevenson dispelled the moods. His visit at that delicate time was as fortunate for American-Burmese friendship as that of any other American of equal stature might well have been ill-chosen.

Adlai Stevenson had a busy time in Burma. He began his activities with a visit to the Shwedagon pagoda in Rangoon; he cheerfully took off his shoes as he mounted the steps to the temple, and struck the gong as the Burmese do to invite all hearers to rejoice that a good deed has been done. Probably he enjoyed the visit, for he went again one early morning at five, unaccompanied by official guides, to join the people in their religious celebrations of the "Kason" Full Moon, the day the Buddha was born. That morning visit escaped the newsmen, but when the news leaked and reached the people it pleased them. The week in Rangoon was Stevenson Week. The USIS put up an exhibition of photographs of Adlai, and his writings and campaign speeches. Stevenson campaign buttons were worn at parties and Adlai remarked that it was a little too early to start campaigning again.

Stevenson met most of the cabinet ministers and had discussions with top government officials and leaders of public life. From a source close to him, the writer learned that he was impressed with the efforts the Burmese government was making to rebuild the country after saving it from rebellions. "Pyidawtha" or "peace and prosperity" development plans being carried out by the government and the people against many difficulties—to which the Chinese Nationalist troops were the latest addition —Mr. Stevenson found impressive. He thought the government was honest and relatively uncorrupt. He saw a great amount of tolerance in the country and thought that might be attributed to Buddhism, the religion of the overwhelming majority. The theory and practice of Socialism in Burma rather intrigued and fascinated Stevenson. Though the constitution of the country is pledged to state Socialism, and though every politician professes to be at least leftist, private capital gets ample opportunity and even some prominent leaders of the Socialist Party are doing prosperous business in many fields. This happy condition Stevenson attributes to the tolerance taught by Buddhism.

The press conference was instructive for the questions asked Stevenson as well as his answers. *What are the chances of combating Communism in Southeast Asian countries?* Good, Stevenson said. During the last five years Communists had opened their offensives in many of these countries—Philippines, Viet-Nam, Burma, and Malaya being examples—but nowhere had they been successful. *What did he think of Formosa?* He thought the government there was doing rather well with public administration and reforms — improvements which it could and should have carried out on the Chinese mainland when it had its last chance. *Could the Nationalists invade China?* Mr. Stevenson laughingly replied that his highest military rank was apprentice seaman. *Was America backing the wrong horse on Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa?* As far as he was aware, Chiang was the only horse in Formosa. With a suggestion that America was perhaps giving too much attention to Chiang as a leader of anti-Communist forces, Stevenson could not agree. America recognized and applauded anti-Communist leaders and endeavors in other countries, such as, for example, Burma and the Philippines. On the subject of American aid, he thought the aid programs were proving their worth. They were not a means to get rid of surplus American goods, for the difficulty in the world today was not surpluses but shortages. On the other hand, there was no need to force American aid on reluctant countries. Huge military allocations in the US budget made it impossible to grant more aid to underdeveloped countries. He hoped when the world tensions eased, more aid would become available.

News agency reports that Senator McCarthy intended to probe into the writings of Adlai Stevenson and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt for possible "anti-Americanism" had come in when Mr. Stevenson was in Rangoon. The reports shocked and angered thinking Burmese people and a cabinet minister who exclaimed, "What, a Paris Inquisition!" was only giving voice to their feelings. At the press interview Stevenson was asked what he thought about the reports and his answer was typical of him. He said smiling that he would feel flattered to be placed in the same category as such a great and good woman as Mrs. Roosevelt. Burmese who had lost their bets in November last concluded that they would lay their bets again next time on Stevenson to win.

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WHY CHURCHILL AND ATTLEE SPOKE OUT

by Woodrow Wyatt, M.P.

IT IS CURIOUS that Anglo-American relations should have got worse since the advent to power of President Eisenhower, beloved of the British people. The affection built up for him during the war years was reinforced by the wise and agreeable way in which he presided over our common safety in Europe.

It is because Britain expected so much from Eisenhower that disappointment in his failure up to date to assert himself for the things which the English are convinced he believes in is so great. When Mr. Attlee said on May 12 in the House of Commons, "one sometimes wonders who is the more powerful, the President or Senator McCarthy," it was not just a chance remark. It was an expression of the general alarm and apprehension with which Englishmen view the American scene today.

When Truman ruled, McCarthy was vehemently attacked by the President and kept in his place. Today it seems to us that McCarthy is a paralyzing force at the center of government. This same Senator, who appears to dictate executive policy sneers at Britain as a "recipient nation." To us he is now a symbol of a rising determination in America to override her allies and of a rising internal intolerance, foreboding, if it is not checked in time, an ugly future for American democracy.

Britain is a quiet and gentle country—even on its own internal merits McCarthyism could hardly be expected to make much appeal to her. But Britain is also patient. She was prepared to believe, when the Republicans won, that responsibility would give the extreme Republicans a better insight into the realities of world power than they had shown in opposition. She also accepted the proposition advanced by many moderate Americans that a Republican victory alone could curb McCarthyism.

But that patience by common consent temporarily ran out in the House of Common debate on foreign affairs on May 11 and 12. I do not remember a debate in which the leading speakers on both sides were so fully approved of by their opponents as were Sir Winston Churchill and Mr. Attlee. What in effect they were saying was that it was time that internal political considerations in America ceased to shape American foreign policy in matters affecting the many millions living in the free world outside America. There was a frank recognition of the differences which at present divided us and a realization that it would be hard to change the American attitude without a major effort by Britain to persuade America that on some points she has lost the sympathy of Britain and the free world.

What are these points? Perhaps the first is the way in which the recent negotiations at Panmunjom have been conducted by Americans in the Korean War and greatly admires the stand taken by President Truman in stimulating the United Nations to resist the North Korean aggression. But she cannot understand the way in which, until recently, General Harrison was allowed to conduct the talks with the Chinese and North Koreans. The Chinese have come a long way in conceding the principle of no forcible repatriation of prisoners. When your opponent has made a major concession, the British instinct is not to make things too hard for him thereafter. It was startling to us when the administrative points put up by the Chinese, which were not at all dissimilar from those contained in the Indian proposals passed by the United Nations, were brusquely rejected by the Americans. Nor could anyone here understand what object there was in proposing that Korean prisoners should be dealt with differently from the Chinese—particularly as the Chinese had previously made it clear that such a differentiation was quite unacceptable to them. In Britain no General or official is allowed to make comments on negotiations with which he is entrusted by the government while they are in progress. Reports of the observations of General Harrison, chief of the UN delegation at Panmunjom, which reached Britain seemed to indicate an unwillingness to consider the Communist proposals on their merits.

It has been long understood by this country that if you are not in a position to impose your will—and we clearly are not in Korea—you must seek some form of accommodation. That is not appeasement but common sense. It is this unwillingness in America to consider compromise that Britons find so disturbing. In the recent foreign-affairs debate the Prime Minister and Mr. Attlee gave clear notice that once a truce is achieved in Korea the position of Communist China at the United Nations would have to be reconsidered. They both agreed that when the Chinese were no longer fighting against the United Nations forces, they would be entitled to the seat on the Security Council now occupied by Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists. Again, this is not appeasement but a practical assessment of realities. If there is to be any settlement in the Far East then Communist China obviously cannot be left out of it; and there is no means of talking

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to Communist China unless America concedes that she exists. To continue to exclude Communist China from the United Nations is to pretend that 500 million people on the mainland of China will acquiesce in decisions which their government has had no hand in making.

This view has been privately advanced in Washington by the British countless times. It is the first time that the heads of the two major political parties in Britain have made the representations public. No one can doubt that a continuing refusal by America to face the facts, for fear of what the China Lobby may say, would cause a major breach in the relations between Britain and America. It is not inconceivable that Britain would herself, with the aid of the Commonwealth countries, the European countries and those other countries in the free world who take a different line from America on this point, force a vote at the United Nations which would decide by the majority that Communist China should take her seat.

Nor, in any general discussion which followed a truce and peace in Korea will America find any support in Britain for her attitude to Formosa. It may be that ethically the Chinese Communists have no right to Formosa but as the successor government to the Chiang Kai-shek administration, which was promised Formosa by Britain and America at the Cairo meeting during the war, they have a better claim to it than the Nationalists. Certainly no responsible person outside America can be found to defend the proposition that the Americans are entitled to use Formosa as an auxiliary military base and to maintain, by their support, a Chinese Nationalist Army whose avowed intent is to invade the mainland as soon as possible. At most Britain would favor some sort of arrangement by which Formosa was put under United Nations trusteeship for, say, a period of 10 years with a plebiscite at the end.

All this amounts to the fact that Britain has come to feel that America by her uncompromising rigidity is losing allies for the Anglo-American partnership and is endangering the chances there may be of lessening international tension. In Southeast Asia four countries—India, Pakistan, Indonesia and Burma—have not finally made up their minds as between Communism and the Anglo-American way of life. They are not so frightened of Communism as we are: they are more mindful of past colonial exploitation and are naively sympathetic to the claims of anti-imperialism made by Communist China. They will not act in their own interests, which are our interests, until they are certain that Communist China has been given every opportunity to behave decently—and that includes representation in the United Nations.

Sir Winston Churchill, and Britain, want to have Great Power talks with the Russians. We want them not to make concessions to the Russians but because we want to explore what chances there may be of reaching a *modus vivendi*. We are as alive to the dangers presented by Russian and Chinese Communism as anyone else: we are equally alive to the dangers of failing to take advantage of any change of mood it may be possible to encourage and induce in the Kremlin. America, however, reacts strangely. It sometimes seems as though America really felt that there was no alternative for the human race but an eventual clash of arms unless the Communist world accepts what is virtually unconditional surrender to American demands. Unconditional surrender had its drawbacks in the last war and has them now. The alternative today is not appeasement but firmness combined with conciliation.

It is in these ways that America and Britain have been drifting apart. In stating the British case I have been careful to give only that part of it which would have general consent among Socialists and Conservatives: these are not merely the views of a congenitally anti-American left wing. The meaning of the recent explosion in Britain is that Britain is certain that she has a decisive influence to exercise on world affairs and that it must be brought to bear now. There is a revulsion from the tendency of the last few years to feel that Britain's power has declined almost so far as to make her no longer a great power. She knows that materially the leadership of the free world indisputably belongs to America. But, where the immense material resources of America are not matched by an equivalent political wisdom, Britain is conscious that she can mobilize the support of millions of people throughout the Commonwealth and in Europe for an insistence that calm, and not rash, courses should be followed.

For Americans to complain about this would be to suggest that Britain should be a kind of Russian-type satellite to America. That could never happen, and it would be of immense harm to Anglo-American relations if it did. At the root of all the British complaints about American policy is the desire that the Anglo-American partnership should do both what is morally and politically right.

It was the conviction that frank discussion of the problems I have mentioned could no longer be postponed that prompted the speeches of the Prime Minister and Mr. Attlee. When President Eisenhower shows that he understands that it is more important to exercise genius for compromise with America's allies rather than with McCarthy and his extreme associates Anglo-American relations will be on the mend again.

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THE BEWITCHMENT OF REBECCA WEST

by A. Powell Davies

DAVID LAWRENCE, who thinks McCarthyism is the sulphur-and-molasses this country needs—and who scolds those of us who will not hold our noses and dutifully gulp it down—has acquired a notable ally, the Minerva of English letters, our respected cousin, Miss Rebecca West. In his *U. S. News & World Report* of May 22, Lawrence reprints her series of four articles written for the London *Sunday Times*, the aim of which was to quiet British fears about Senator McCarthy and to dispel the myth of our anti-Communist hysteria.

What effect her reassurances have had in England, we are not equipped to estimate. Apparently, they have had none at all upon Mr. Clement Attlee or he would scarcely have suggested to the House of Commons that he is in doubt whether Senator McCarthy or General Eisenhower is the real President of the United States. Sir Winston, too, seems not to have been much affected; nor British editorial opinion. But then, the British are notorious for being unresponsive to talent; and Miss West is definitely talented. On the other hand, the British, we are given to understand, are slow but sure with facts; and Miss West is dazzlingly quick with them. Her fellow-citizens may have found the pace too fast, returning after a blink or two to reports about us in the unfeatured columns of their newspapers.

Nevertheless, as a journalistic *tour de force*, this series is remarkable, even for a virtuoso like Miss West. Perhaps a better adjective would be "incredible." If she really believes what she has written, she is a necromancer bewitched by her own sorcery, or, to put it less chivalrously, a magician who has forgotten how the rabbit got into the hat.

But if we take her performance "slow motion," we can see for ourselves how the trick is worked. The story of "witch-hunting" in America, she says, does not have the texture of life. It is too symmetrical, too self-consistent to be true. It has "the slick coherence of a Goebbels lie." And while we are wondering why a story has to be irregular in shape and inconsistent with itself before it can have the texture of life, the rabbit is sprung out of the hat, a sleazily sardonic rabbit wearing Dr. Goebbels' smile. What is the trick here? It is (1) to magnify "the story" (such as, "free speech and thought have been banished from the soil of America") into an exaggeration that discredits it; (2) to impute to those who believe only the true story a belief in the exaggerated version; and then, (3) to make them "guilty by association" with a Goebbels lie. This was always a neat trick and we have long been fascinated by it; but we never expected to see it in a Rebecca West performance.

Miss West, changing her posture a little, pays tribute to the nobility of academic freedom. Investigating committees, she informs us, have "dealt but little" with college professors and have sometimes been nice to them. After the inquiry is over, the professor who had once been a Communist is politely thanked by the committee and returns to the classroom without "ill consequence." Threats to academic freedom do not come from the committees but from "other sources." And in any case, what the committees are really interested in is not the investigation of professors nor even Communism at all but corrupt practices within the civil service—and how can we call that "witch-hunting?"

Here is obfuscation at its wiliest: the ancient art of misdirection. Do not look at what is happening on the campuses. Do not listen to the leading educators. Ignore the National Council of Churches. Forget the reports of Agnes Meyer. Just follow the jewelled finger as it points to the committees—innocently cleaning up the civil service. Here, however, Miss West has over-taxed her skill: not content with assuring us that there is no concealed rabbit, she even wants us to believe that there is no room for it in the bottom of the hat. We are, in short, to close our eyes to what we are looking at and allow her to tell us what is there.

To call a liberal a Communist, Miss West continues, is "an imbecility," for they are natural enemies like dogs and cats. With this she thinks she has dismissed the matter; if a thing is an imbecility, then, for her it does not exist. Perhaps not; but the rationality that characterizes as fine and detached a mind as Miss West's is not at present the rationality that is characteristic of America. The fact is that liberals *are* being called Communists. I am myself a liberal to whom Communism is a natural enemy, but that does not prevent people from calling me a Communist. Bishop Oxnam is a liberal to whom Communism is a natural enemy. But a member of the Un-American Activities Committee has called him a servant of the Communist cause. These are the facts of life just now in America, and if Miss West would come down from her podium and mix a little with the audience she might discover them. She might also discover that her own facts are in error. There is no evidence whatever, for example, to support her assertion that the Communists shot Walter Reuther. Neither he nor the FBI

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believe that. Nor is there any proof to justify labelling Lawrence Duggan's death a Communist's suicide. Miss West's contention that since Senator McCarthy was not actually a member of an investigating committee until recently, we should keep a "cool head" and not "burst into loud cries" about McCarthyism is so detached from reality that it becomes the levitation act in her performance. I suggest that, as her assistant in this act, she invite upon the platform Senator Tydings. He, too, might like to float above the baseness of reality. With the right incantation, softly murmured by Miss West, he might persuade himself that McCarthyism was sheerest fantasy in his campaign in Maryland in those days of innocence before the Senator from Wisconsin had an investigating committee of his own.

But then, we are all wrong about McCarthy. Miss West finds him to be the son of a poor, mid-Western farmer, hurt because he is not recognized as a "valuable public utility." His feeling for the investigations is completely guileless, just "the sort of demonstrative affection that a wet dog will often feel for a man in white-flannel trousers." We shall confess, I think, that on this side of the water we had not thought of this canine yearning for recognition and attention. The fault is clearly ours: we should have patted Fido on the head. After all, when a wet dog looks up at you with trusting eyes, what is a patch of dampness on the leg of your white flannel trousers? Whoever got rabies from *that?* Nevertheless, Miss West should watch out for her dog act; it might prove the most perverse in her performance. When the roles are reversed and the dog holds the hoop, the question is: who will be invited to jump through it?

Before deciding this — indeed, before deciding anything further about Senator McCarthy—Miss West should read the transcript of his interrogation of James Wechsler, editor of the *New York Post.* She might also wish to read the editorial in the not very excitable New York *Times* (May 9, 1953) on the subject, the last paragraph of which is as follows:

> The mere fact that Mr. Wechsler had fought Communists in and out of the labor movement, had resigned from one newspaper [now defunct] because he thought it was being manipulated by Communists, had participated in liberal and therefore bitterly anti-Communist organizations, had written innumerable articles and editorials against Communists and Communism—all of this carried no weight with Mr. McCarthy. Mr. Wechsler's crime seems clearly to be that he has also fought Mr. McCarthy's methods, a fight in which this newspaper, too, has been proud to participate.

Does Miss West feel that if the New York *Times* had a "cool head," it would be more indulgent to Senator McCarthy?

Has she reached the point where methods do not count and it is no longer important that we be just and truthful and maintain the decencies of a democratic society? Is our behavior excusable, no matter what it is, so long as we are against Communism?

It is certainly the hunting down of Communists in which she is most deeply interested. With a nostalgia which she is barely able to hide, she returns to Elizabeth Bentley and Whittaker Chambers, to the days when treason was dramatically uncovered, and she reported it so brilliantly. She wants us to know that Communism is evil. We do know it. She thinks that Communist conspiracy is still continuing. So do we. She believes that something should be done about it. We think so, too.

But that is where we part company—and where Miss West, we think, parts company with her former self. We think that what we do about Communism should be done with a sensitive regard for our high traditions and with justice and fair play. We do not think that people who were once Communists and who have long since renounced Communism and sturdily fought it should be haled before committees to have their loyalty impugned. We do not think that the fight against Communism should be entrusted to those who abuse our confidence and debase our moral values and who distort the reality of the Communist conspiracy into forms which further their own ambitions and, through the spread of fear, prepare us for acquiescence in the rise of tyranny. We know as she does not, that Communism is not our only enemy; or, if she knows it, then the difference is that we are resolved to see plainly what she is willing to see only dimly and fitfully: that we are faced with treason and subversion not only by the Communist conspirators but also by those who are betraying our traditional democratic principles and subverting the justice and morality which are the basis of our national life.

Miss West is a specialist in treason. We are all her debtors for her brilliant expositions of it. But in these articles it is as though she were running out of subject matter, a huntress without quarry. The best she can do, she seems to think, is to place on exhibition her earlier trophies. She is mistaken. Besides Communism, which she rightly emphasizes as a treacherous enemy, she could turn her gifted mind to other foes of freedom. She could make a genuine and objective study of McCarthyism. But she ought not to wait too long. There is definite danger in delay.

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WHAT ATTLEE REALLY SAID

AT THE CLOSE of the House of Commons debate on international affairs Clement Attlee, former Prime Minister of Britain and leader of the British Labour Party, delivered a speech intended to promote understanding and unity. Instead it touched off the worst squabble between Britain and the US in years. The Hearst newspapers called it "stupid" and "insulting." The McCormick newspapers condemned Attlee as a "presumptuous political hack." Scripps-Howard newspapers called Attlee "the old fluff." The New York Daily News *referred to him as "an ignoramus." The fairness and responsibility of our major newspapers in this instance can be judged in the light of the full text, printed below.*

MR. ATTLEE. . . . It is worthwhile saying a few words about the United States and about American policy. I hope they will cause no offense. I hope that no one will suggest that I am in any way anti-American. I have very many friends in America and I worked in great harmony with President Truman and his advisers. I am very conscious of all that the Americans have done for the world, besides in the war. Nor do I wish to attack the American Constitution. I merely want to state some facts which do not always seem to be apprehended. Let me begin with a contrast.

The Prime Minister comes to the House and states his policy. It is the policy of the government. He can, if he wishes, get a vote in this House in support of it or he can, as in this debate, be satisfied with the great measure of support on both sides. That policy is government policy and will be carried out by Ministers and by officials. Look on the other side. President Eisenhower makes a great speech. It is the President's speech. He speaks for the Administration, but in America power is divided between the Administration and Congress. For instance, the Administration may desire to spend so many millions in support whether of armaments or some other object, but Congress may cut it down by several millions of dollars. The Administration may wish to encourage our export to the United States but, as in the case of the Chief Joseph Dam, influences frustrate the Administration's policy.

Therefore, the government in America are not really master in their own house. Let us remember, too, that Congress is still made up of people who primarily represent the interests of a particular State in the Union. Pressure groups and interests are very strong and, further, the American Administration seems to be less integrated than ours. President Eisenhower makes a speech; shortly thereafter the Secretary of State Mr. Dulles makes a speech, which, I thought, struck rather a different note. We do find on occasions that there is one policy being run by the Treasury, another by the State Department, and perhaps another by the Pentagon.

A further point seems that the American tradition is to give their representatives overseas a freer hand than we give ours, and less direction. We found rather the same in the relationship, as compared with our chiefs of staffs and our commanders in the field, between the American chiefs of staffs and their generals in the field. I am not complaining. It is just the American tradition. Therefore, we find that General Harrison, in the Panmunjom negotiations, seems to make observations on his own, right off his own bat, and even makes a broadcast. One wants to face these facts.

One of the facts of the world situation is that the American Constitution was framed for an isolationist state. Americans did not want to have anything to do with Europe. For many years they had practically no foreign policy, but I do not think that that situation is particularly well suited to a time when America has become the strongest state in the world and has to give a lead. I am not in any way criticizing the Americans or the Constitution. I am endeavoring to state facts, because I think that people often are misled and there are misunderstandings and disappointments because we do not understand the American Constitution.

During the Second World War, President Roosevelt showed himself a very great man. He was also a very great politician and he managed to "work in" Congress to his desires. I think that President Truman very skillfully used to buttress himself with two great Senators, Senator Vandenberg and Senator Connally. But sometimes one finds that Congress takes the bit between its teeth and one sometimes wonders who is the more powerful, the President or Senator McCarthy. The Prime Minister said that one of the disadvantages of dictatorship is that the dictator is often dictated to by others. One of the disadvantages of the American system of democracy is that it is sometimes hard to find where effective power lies. Therefore, I think that it is in the light of these facts that one should look at some of our problems. All this has some reference to the position of the negotiations in Korea.

All my information is, though I may be wrong, that the Chinese want a settlement. I believe that the United States Administration want a settlement. The negotiations are in the hands of the American command on behalf of the United Na-

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tions. But there are elements in the United States that do not want a settlement. It is just as well to face that fact. There are people who want an all-out war with China and against Communism in general, and there is the strong influence of the Chiang Kai-shek lobby.

I suggested, therefore, the other day to the Prime Minister that in these negotiations it would be well if there were other advisers from other United Nations states concerned. I did so not because I am distrustful of the Americans, but because I believe that it would strengthen the hands of the American Administration. America is the spokesman of the United Nations and I believe that even in these negotiations it would be useful if there were present other members of the United Nations concerned. I know that this is a matter very largely for the military, but I am quite sure that when, as we all hope, these immediate negotiations for an armistice are concluded, further settlement should not be left exclusively in American hands.

I am well aware that America has made far the biggest sacrifices in Korea; but I am also well aware that she lays herself open to unjustifiable blame if she keeps everything in her own hands, because there is a tendency to say, "This is American policy and not United Nations policy." I am bound to say that I have been disturbed lately at the hanging on of these negotiations. The Prime Minister said rightly that principles have been agreed, but it seems to me that there is a good deal of haggling. I know that the Chinese did any amount of haggling, but I saw in the *Times* General Harrison's last questions and it seems to me that the Chinese have gone a very long way indeed, after a long time, in accepting the broad outline of the Indian initiative which we all approve.

I do not think that these other matters—questions of which of the five powers should be chosen and who should be in control, and so on—are really matters which ought to hang up these negotiations. The Americans have shown great patience in these negotiations. I think that it was inevitable at the start that the conduct of this affair should be in the hands of the United States, but I believe that at this stage, as soon as the negotiations are concluded, it will be for the benefit of the world and of the United States that these things should pass to a collective organ of UNO.

I turn now to China. I do not believe that China is a mere puppet in the hands of Russia. I think that she will wear her Communism with a difference; but I am more certain than ever that, as soon as aggression has been halted, China should take her rightful place on the Security Council. It is really one of the ironies of history that President Roosevelt, against our view, rather pressed that China was a great Power. She was not then. She was the rather ramshackle Power of Chiang Kai-shek torn with dissension, yet she was put in a position on the Security Council. But now, under a different government, she seems to be evolving as a pretty effective Power. She is entitled to be one of the Big Five and I do not think that her place should be denied her.

The Prime Minister (Sir Winston Churchill): Not while the actual fighting is going on, though.

Mr. Attlee: No, soon after the armistice.

We have a very vital interest in peace in China. Our hopes of increasing our trade with the United States have been greatly lessened by recent events. We may hope that the attitude will change: it is not too hopeful just now. "Trade, not aid" does not seem to have been accepted over there. We are constantly pressed not to trade with China, even in goods which are very remotely connected with war effort. We cannot survive if we are to be restricted, unable to trade effectively with the United States, cut off from China and with all the difficulties of the Iron Curtain. We, therefore, have as vital an interest as anybody in the settlement of this China affair, and I am sure that our American friends will recognize this. It is not too soon for heart-to-heart talks to take place with the United States on how these matters are to be settled after the armistice....

. . . With regard to a conference on the highest level, I agree with the Prime Minister that it would not be advisable to stage a conference with an enormous retinue of experts. I am sure that anything in the way of public discussions would be a mistake. We have seen that at UNO. I would say, however, that any such conference needs most careful preparation. We want to be sure what we want, and that applies not only to this country but to the United States of America.

I want to advert to that point for one moment because there, again, we have the peculiar Constitutional position of America. It would be possible for President Eisenhower to attend a conference and, on his return to the United States, to be thrown over, as President Wilson was after the discussions at Versailles. It is, therefore, essential that whoever goes to this conference should go with full authority. We need full co-operation in searching out these ideas. We should be unwise — I think the Prime Minister would agree—to expect that that conference would dramatically clear up all international difficulties. Its chief value would be in getting personal contacts and understanding, from which a careful building up of peace might ensue. . . .

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

A METHOD OF MORAL PROGRESS

by Frances Perkins

IMPATIENT CRUSADER, which is a true biography of the important aspects of the life and accomplishment of Florence Kelly, is long overdue. Many of those who have been influenced and inspired by her principles, her dicta, and her leadership, have keenly regretted that her death in 1932 prevented her knowing that the great developments in labor and social legis-

IMPATIENT CRUSADER, by Josephine Goldmark (Chicago; $3).

lation at a federal level came a few years later. These projects to which she had devoted her life came to be a reality in the United States, and offered a situation in which persons still living could work in factories that formerly were horrors but now are models of sanitation, comfort, safety, ventilation, and good lighting. There are short hours and good wages for the workers accompanying these physical reforms.

It is fortunate that this admirable biography could be written by Josephine Goldmark, long associated with Mrs. Kelly, and revised in its final form by Elizabeth Brandeis of the younger generation, who had shared in the preparation of the hard, brilliant crusade of Florence Kelly, who sought the improvement of industrial and working conditions, the prevention of child labor, and the rescue and care of neglected children. Fortunately the author has not made the mistake so frequently found in recent biographies of writing a labored exploration into the character and actions of an individual by the half-baked application of Freudian principles. Nor has she fallen into the opposite mistake of assigning to the material and commercial developments the insights and attitudes of an individual in protest. Mrs. Kelly's own conviction—that if the people knew the facts about inhuman working conditions and the neglect of children, they would desire to act morally and responsibly—runs through this book.

Miss Goldmark gives, however, an understanding picture of the life of intelligent, conscientious, and prosperous people in the 1870's and 80's where even in a well-to-do family, five little children could die in infancy through the lack of knowledge of the principles of child health and child welfare so commonly established today and spread throughout the whole United States. The intelligent and thoughtful concern of her father and other relatives, not only in the aftermath of the Civil War, but in the development of the new industrial patterns that were beginning in England and the United States in the 70's bespeaks a more than ordinarily informed background, and the Quaker principle of intense searching of conscience practiced in her household. The private grief of the old aunt who ate no sugar and wore no cotton because they were slave produced, gave constant demonstration of personal participation in moral reforms. The father and others who taught her to read out of a book describing and showing pictures of poverty striken and overworked children certainly had a novel view of child psychology, but her vigorous growing mind absorbed the lesson without accepting such things as inevitable, but rather, by establishing an early impression that they were preventable. She evolved a moral obligation to prevent them.

The author indicates clearly the moral social sense which was already awakening in the American homes of Jane Addams, Julia Lathrop, Henry Demarest Lloyd, and others of Mrs. Kelly's own generation, who met only in adult life but understood each other perfectly and at once, partly because of their background and experience. The early part of the book is worth reading for its picture of the devastating working conditions to which Florence Kelly was introduced in childhood, through literature and through visits to steel mills and glass works.

Her struggle for education, her almost accidental meeting with Carey Thomas, and her decision to go to Zurich to get what she had been denied in the United States when she was refused entrance into the Pennsylvania Law School, the trip with her father through the English midlands, and her observations of the dreadful workings conditions of the cottage or sweated industries—these all offer historical color and interest. But it is, of course, the significant and successful effort of this woman to establish ethical advances in improving working conditions through legislation that is the important record which historians and social workers, as well as the general public will read.

The foundation of the Consumers' League with its emphasis upon the personal responsibility of the consumer for obtaining favorable conditions for people working in department stores and factories is fully documented and laid out in this book. Mrs. Kelly was to become the first director and executive of the National Consumers' League and she remained that for her entire lifetime. Mrs. Kelly's blazing moral indignation and her sarcasm against those who sought to oppose her and to minimize the evil conditions which which she had found both as factory inspector in Illinois and as an investigator for the Consumers' League are well described. It was her basic principle, which has been followed ever since by the most successful social-work organizations, that investigations and a marshalling of the facts bearing upon the problem, must precede any recommendation for legislation or for action, either social action by individual citizens or official action by the government. This has been a pattern in the developments of all the labor legislation in this country, and has spared us the purely romantic attitudes which threatened at some times to become prevailing and self-defeating.

The clarity of her mind, the brilliance of her insights, the

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practicality of her hunches and the approaches to the problem are well illustrated, but the amazing courage and fearlessness which she showed in the attack against those stronger than herself is a living rebuke to those who today sometimes fear to speak out. The loyalty and devotion of her friendships with Miss Addams, Miss Lathrop, Dr. Hamilton, Grace Abbott, Lillian Wold, and hundreds of others who worked in this cause with her all over the United States, is impressive. The enormous fatigue of the effort she made in traveling to the smallest and humblest communities, laying her message of the facts of adverse conditions in industrial life before them is well reported, and almost unbelievable to the present generation which is accustomed to making social progress by pamphlets, mimeographed memoranda, organized systematic offices, and a broad, expensive use of the telephone.

Florence Kelly was the inventor of a method of moral progress and the catalytic agent of the series of actions which has accomplished so much for the welfare of the nation. There can be no doubt that she was motivated by a moral not a material purpose and God prospered her projects. May her tribe increase.

A VIEW OF THE PAST

THE MIND OF THE MIDDLE AGES, by Frederick B. Artz (Knopf; $7.50).

THE TITLE of this book might lead the unwary to assume that it is a replacement for Etienne Gilson's *The Spirit of Mediaeval Philosophy*, but the works are not strictly commensurable. Gilson is more the special pleader, Artz more the chronicler, although they do meet on the common ground of defense and justification of the Middle Ages. And there they both fail.

But that is not to be taken as condemnation. There are failures so brilliant that they are more admirable than mediocre successes, and Mr. Artz has achieved one, as Mr. Gilson did thirty years ago. Their common failure is a refusal to entertain seriously, much less refute, the only really plausible reason ever advanced for the phenomenon of the Middle Ages, that of Edward Gibbon. Both, Gilson explicitly and Artz by implication, are committed to the Christian point of view, which regards as inadmissible the theory that Christianity dynamited civilization in the West and so precipitated Europe into the Dark Ages, from which the Middle Ages slowly and painfully emerged.

However, one who disregards this omission will find in Artz's exposition of European thought from A.D. 200 to A.D. 1500 a compact, lucid narrative, studded with brilliant passages and shrewd observations, and exhibiting an erudition that staggers the unscholarly mind. The bibliography comprises fifty large pages of small type, yet the author describes it as "in very summary form." The man has read everything on his subject, including the unreadable in vast quantities; yet he emerges from this ordeal, not as Dr. Dryasdust, but as a laconic, luminous and entertaining historian.

He is not without his prejudices. For instance, he plainly dislikes Abelard and gives him no credit for his struggle against the savagery of St. Bernard; he puts Homer and Shakespeare under the feet of Dante, as poets; and he is decidedly squeamish about touching some of the more earthy of the ideas and attributes of the Early Fathers, even when they were of a kind to throw light upon the manner of the man's thinking, as the self-emasculation of Origen, which is not mentioned, and the strongly erotic quality of some ecstacies, which is touched with great delicacy.

But one of his prejudices that contributes greatly to the enjoyment of the reader is a fancy for including odd bits of learning that contribute only slightly to the development of the main theme, such as Cyprian's remarks on the ruin of the world in the year 200, which sound much like a business tycoon discussing the New Deal in 1936; and the origin of the crank and the horseshoe arch; and the curious practice of *hesychasm;* and the princess Anna Comnena; and Ulpian on the power of the people: and the Christian symbolism of the fish.

But these are mere asides. The great merit of the work is its careful examination of the Islamic and Byzantine contributions to the culture of the Middle Ages. Too many western historians have handled these elements cavalierly, with the result that as we face the heirs of Islam and Byzantium today we are crassly incompetent to understand them. To my mind, Mr. Artz is better on Moslem than on Byzantine thought; but at least he is keenly aware that the cultural legacy of the Eastern Empire is the basis of Russian culture, and that we have a great need to know more about it.

Enraptured by his subject he tends perhaps to prove too much. By the time the reader finishes the book he is almost persuaded that there never was a real hiatus in the development of what we call civilization. In fact, Mr. Artz asserts flatly that "there are in history no beginnings and no ends in the whole sequence of things," thereby consigning to outer darkness Toynbee and his twenty dead civilizations.

Nevertheless, he does reveal a richness and a power in mediaeval thought that not many of us knew existed; and in this there is no room for doubt or cavilling. He proves his point. Therefore the book will make a distinct addition to the intellectual equipage of most readers; and to those capable of deriving pleasure from a serious work it will also afford no small delight.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

A VIEW OF THE FUTURE

PREVIEW FOR TOMORROW. *The Unfinished Business of Science* by Bruce Bliven (Knopf; $5).

SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE, in all fields from physics to psychiatry, is increasing at a rate unprecedented in human history. Also, we know only an infinitesimal part of what there is to know and, no matter how much research we do, certain things will always lie beyond our powers of comprehension. There can be little disagreement with either of these points. Considered solely on the basis of reasoning, both can be supported by highly plausible arguments and usually are. But it makes all the difference in the world which of the two points we choose to emphasize in framing our attitude toward life.

Concentrating on the things we do not and cannot know often leads to a kind of mysticism marked by lack of faith in man's ability to handle his problems ra-

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tionally. Pseudo-science, which is far more prevalent than many people realize, feeds on such essentially negative thinking. On the other hand, concentrating on the fact that people continue to learn usually implies a much rosier outlook—and belief in the notion that science can help significantly in the building of a better world. This is the attitude which, as we would expect, stands out in every chapter of Bruce Bliven's *Preview For Tomorrow*. Mr. Bliven, who joined the staff of this magazine just thirty years ago and now serves as chairman of its editorial board, roams over a great deal of territory in his latest book.

He offers an interesting and intelligent survey of some of the greatest achievements of science —a survey, by the way, which is based on consultations with about two hundred experts in many branches of research. Furthermore, he has no axes to grind and lets facts speak for themselves, particularly in areas rarely given the benefit of objective public discussions. Problems of population growth, for example, are presented "straight" without dire predictions of perils, yellow or otherwise. But international planning is called for now. The world's population has nearly quadrupled during the past three centuries and is expected to increase to four or five billion persons within the next forty years (present total: 2.4 billion persons).

What about food for future generations? One of the most optimistic of the experts whom Mr. Bliven has consulted believes that world food production could be doubled by controlled plant and animal breeding and other techniques already available. But at best this would only ease or postpone serious shortages in underdeveloped regions. Only one technical advance could revolutionize the entire problem of food sources—artificial photosynthesis, duplicating the process plants use to build complex sugars and starches out of air, water and sunlight. But we cannot depend on miracles, and birth control will eventually have to be practiced on a large scale. "It is not enough to bring down the birth rate substantially. It must be brought down so low that it is approximately in balance with the death rate." India is launching a drive of unprecedented proportions along these lines, encouraging mass use of the "rhythm" method of birth control.

Preview For Tomorrow also summarizes arguments for wiser use of natural resources, developments in obtaining energy from the atom and the sun, and advances in medical treatment and research. A particularly important section presents an account of spectular achievements in methods of mass communication. Technically, we are superb. Electronic engineers have performed wonders in continually surpassing themselves with devices of increasing subtlety. A new device called Ultrafax can transmit up to a million words a minute by radio. In its public debut, Ultrafax flashed the entire text of *Gone With the Wind* in two minutes and twenty-one seconds flat. The transistor, a tiny crystal that does most of the things vacuum tubes do and operates on only a millionth of a watt, makes it possible to turn out wrist-watch radios. The color television sets of the future will have these long-lived crystals instead of tubes.

The big question is what we're going to communicate. Radio and television stations and networks successfully peddle their best airtime to advertisers for comedy, soap-opera or crime. If your newspaper did the same thing, the front page would consist mainly of comic strips—with a large advertisement in bold red letters placed smack in the center. Of course, there are educational programs, the step-children of radio and television. Mr. Bliven points out that they are usually scheduled late at night and at other odd times unattractive to listeners and advertisers alike. On the brighter side, he gives radio credit for presenting "much edifying material" —and for stimulating popular interest in classical music.

But the evidence is overwhelming that our techniques for saying things are far more advanced than the things we have to say. A long-term approach to the problem is considered in the final chapter, "The Conservation of Intelligence." It has been estimated that about 2,250,000 United States citizens have I.Q.'s of 140 or more—and that at least half of them never receive education even remotely worthy of their extraordinary talents. Members of this most highly gifted group can be found by simply going out and testing. A few years ago 29 such children were discovered as the result of a careful survey of 8,000 Negro children living in a Chicago slum.

This is an optimistic and heartening book. It leaves no doubt that we are learning, and learning fast, about the universe and ourselves. It leaves no doubt that such knowledge is an important preliminary to fruitful action. With the best intentions in the world, we cannot tackle our greatest problems without deeper understanding of their origins and laws. Whether or not we will continue to be guided by the facts and theories which our brains have figured out is a question that we must answer chiefly on the basis of our faith in man's potentialities. There is much to be said against the hypothesis of progress, but we have yet to be offered a more plausible and productive alternative.

Mr. Bliven is confident about the future. As he concludes,

> With few exceptions the problems of mankind are now known to be curable. The outlines of the cures are visible and we are moving toward them. . . . The advance of scientific knowledge is in the process of rescuing mankind from many of our most serious dilemmas, slow and painful though our progress may seem to our impatient eyes.

JOHN PFEIFFER

GOYA AND HIS DEMONS

GOYA'S CAPRICHOS, by José López-Rey (Princeton, two volumes; $12.50).

"GOYA, nightmare filled with things unknown/With foetuses cooking at a witches Sabbath/-With hags at a mirror and naked infants/To tempt the demons carefully adjusting their stockings." These indelible lines from Baudelaire's poem, *Les Phares*, were written as a description of Goya's famous series of engravings, *Los Caprichos;* and they vividly convey those aspects of Goya's imagery that made this work such a unique phenomenon in the art of its time. Not since the Romanesque sculptors, who, as a warning to sinners, carved horrifying Satanic figures on the capitals of their churches, had any Western artist created such a world of supernatural horror. And even today, when all the

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demons of the Unconscious have become familiar companions, Goya's monsters still retain their hallucinatory power and their incomparable intimations of human bestiality.

Despite their fame, however, the *Caprichos* have been a constant subject of controversy from their appearance up to the present time; and Prof. Lopez-Rey, in this scrupulous and well-written study, has tried to unravel "the general, cumulative and essential meaning of the *Caprichos*." The volume of plates included with this set comprises the *Caprichos* themselves; all the preparatory drawings for the final plates; and the drawings from two earlier works of Goya (known as the Sanlúcar notebook and the Madrid sketchbook) that contain preliminary ideas for the *Caprichos*. With all this evidence before the reader, Prof. López-Rey endeavors to persuade him to shift his attention away from those aspects of Goya stressed by Baudelaire, and, it might be added, by the majority of later writers on Goya. For, he argues, Goya was an eighteenth-century rationalist, a firm believer in reason, for whom "the world of moral and physical malformity was not congenial." And even though Goya may take us through the nightmare-world of the *Caprichos*, he was firm "in his conviction that man can conquer the monsters of error, prejudice, superstitution, passion, and the like which he is so masterfully depicts."

There is a good deal of evidence to support this view of Goya the man and its application to the *Caprichos*. In the plate introducing the second part of the series, as Prof. López-Rey points out, Goya depicts himself sleeping and dreaming—dreaming of the demons who are to assault the spectator in the plates that follow. "The sleep of Reason," the caption reads, "produces monsters." But even if we give Prof. López-Rey this main point, the question still remains whether Goya's intention adequately explains the power of his creations.

Whatever Goya the man may have believed, Goya the artist was driven by an emotional dynamic that cannot be explained in rational terms. His obsession with vice, degradation and human bestiality has an emotional impact that far transcends the realm of well-poised rationalist caricature. If we are to judge by his art—and this is the decisive test—the monsters of his dreams had far more reality for him as an artist than any vision of the triumph of Reason. Indeed, Prof. López-Rey is hard put to find any artistic expression of Goya's faith in reason. And his efforts to interpret the drawings in the Sanlúcar notebook as depicting "the beauty and dignity of the female form" are belied by his own descriptions of these sketches.

So far as Prof. López-Rey fails to distinguish between Goya's opinions on the one hand, and, on the other, the more deeply-rooted sources that nourished his bitter and savage depictions of human folly and error, his book suffers from too narrow a focus on the *Caprichos* as a whole. But in his detailed commentary on the individual plates Prof. López-Rey is perceptive, penetrating, and, on the whole, not too much hampered by his maior thesis. Moreover, by linking Goya with Lavater and theories of physiognomy in the eighteenth century, he has provided a suggestive clue to many features of Goya's iconography.

JOSEPH FRANK

INDIGENOUS POLITICS

THE GENIUS OF AMERICAN POLITICS, by Daniel J. Boorstin (Chicago; $3.25).

EQUIPPED with the tools of the historian, Mr. Boorstin sets out to discover the nature and roots of the genius of American politics. The purpose of that endeavor is to underpin his thesis that American democracy is not an exportable commodity. His analysis distills down to the contention that the American system is the unique product of a unique set of historical circumstances. Since those circumstances do not recur, nor can they be caused to recur, American institutions cannot be re-created elsewhere.

Such reasoning conforms to logical etiquette; it may be made to march if one really isolates the peculiarities of American political genius and indubitably links them to unique factors of causation. Mr. Boorstin identifies as a primary element of that genius a wholesome absence of political philosophies—theories that blueprint the reconstruction of institutions for the salvation of mankind, dogmas that enlist fanatics and generate commotions in the Republic. Instead of articulate theories of politics we have, the argument goes, a sense of "givenness." Much of the discussion turns around the exposition and exemplification of this rather nebulous conception of a belief which serves instead of a political theory and deeply conditions our manner of political action.

"Givenness" is a belief that values are "*given* by certain facts of geography or history peculiar to us." Thus, in its infancy the Republic was pre-formed, "conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." The present represents merely the unfolding of the designs implicit in the minds of the first settlers. The belief that American traits and institutions grew out of the conditions of life of the frontier, or of the mining camps, or of the New England forests represents another dimension of "givenness." In contrast with the discontinuity of European history, Americans have a deep sense of the interlacing of present and past. The Founding Fathers seem even to survive as contemporaries. And this historical sense generates a faith in the inevitability and appropriateness —the "givenness"—of our institutions.

Great events strengthened, rather than weakened, the sense of "givenness." The Revolution was no revolution. Only a colonial rebellion in defense of the ancient rights of Englishmen, it left no legacy of revolutionary dogma to plague our politics. Nor did the Civil War precipitate schools of philosophy to stir later generations; the fact of survival of a war and a constitutional debate within a federal framework perhaps reenforced the sense of "givenness." After a treatment of the effects of the mingling of religious and political beliefs, Mr. Boorstin comments on "our cultural hypochrondia" which seems to be mainly a decline in our faith in "givenness." When the citizenry comes to be aroused by political philosophies, the country is in for trouble. Let us not attempt to contrive a philosophy of democracy to propagate among the heathen. It would only make for dissention at home and take no root abroad.

Such are the rough outlines of the thesis. In essence the case rests

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on the proposition that political institutions and habits are not contrived, but develop, usually slowly, in the light of the peculiarities of the history, geography, and people of a nation, a staple of the hornbooks of political theory that deserves prominent display from time to time. To this Mr. Boorstin has added the contention that we are quite conscious of the oneness of yesterday and tomorrow, of the unity of people, culture, and land, and are thereby molded in our politics. Whether he has the one answer to the mysteries of American politics, his reflections and insights merit wide attention. Yet a *caveat* is in order for those who would grasp this variation of the doctrine of historical conservatism as proof or justification of the inevitability or desirability of political and institutional stagnation. Another book could be written on the astonishing elasticity of the determinism of the American sense of "givenness." The blessings of a paucity of political philosophy include an unparalleled freedom to cope with what comes, to aspire, and to strive to the limits of man's heart and mind. And, even though the literal nontransplantability of American institutions may be conceded, a mild doubt may be expressed that a book to prove that something cannot be done falls precisely within the main steam of the American sense of "givenness."

V. O. KEY JR.

PSYCHIATRY AT THE BAR

THE PSYCHIATRIST AND THE LAW, by Winfred Overholser (Harcourt, Brace; $3.50).

THIS BOOK makes a contribution to the difficult basic problem of the law, namely: the search for truth. Many lawyers won't like it for the simple reason that the leaders of the bar are emotionally set to resist change or adventure. This arises from the fact that by very definition a leader of the bar is usually a lawyer who represents the wealthier people in the community, who in turn have done so well under the existing mores that they naturally do not want to hazard any change. I wish the mood of the book had been more aware of this attitude so that lawyers would be more seduceable to its logic. After discussing the substantance of psychiatry and various differences of viewpoints, the core of the volume deals with the mental patient in the hospital and the psychiatrist as a witness.

In 1949 about 250,000 people were admitted to mental hospitals and about 185,000 were discharged. Law without psychiatry is ill equipped to cope with such a major disability of our society. To proceed against a person who attempts suicide without psychiatry is a "medieval relic." Overholser wisely contends that in all cases of sex offenses the complainant should be examined by psychiatrists as to probable credibility. In fact he indicates innumerable sectors of law in which lawyers and judges need the knowledge of the infant profession of psychiatry.

In the search for truth man has come to the conclusion that the best evidence to be appraised is what is seen or heard. When observable "facts" clash in the marketplace of the courtroom there is provided the best material known to man for the arrival at truth. Before Freud, very few lawyers realized how truly subjective even the testimony of the ear and the eye usually is. No one has an objective ear or eye. Even these delicate organs are communicators of the subjective emotions of the witness who often suppresses the "fact" as against his unconscious past. Hence, it is natural that lawyers should look with aggravated suspicion on appraisal of testimony by that handful of craftsmen known as psychiatrists. The testing for truth in the field of hidden emotions may often be, as this book makes clear by reference to many court cases, more valuable than the assaying of so-called objective facts which are seldom objective or factual. I am glad the author referred to the fact that lawyers expect unanimity of agreement among psychiatrists even though two lawyers on any single point are so often in disagreement.

Psychiatry is essential in vast portions of the law—commitment of the unbalanced, treatment of those not responsible for their acts, and above all, in fields such as divorce, as to which this volume is all too silent. Dr. Overholser is an advocate for the extended use of psychiatry in the field of law. I agree with the direction of his plea but I very much doubt if the craft of psychiatry is sufficiently informed and contains enough members to make the service generally available in all parts of the United States, and at best as yet only in a few selected areas of the law. Morever, it is historically essential that all new professions fight their way into public acceptance, although as pointed out, doctors, ministers and clerymen are more in accord with psychiatry than are members of the legal profession.

This volume is good reading and might induce a trend at the bar to give up part of its power in aid of the courts in those areas which increasingly and clearly demand skills in which lawyers are less equipped than are psychiatrists. I wish that the worthy author had read *Your Marriage And The Law*, by Pilpel and Zavin, two associates of mine who in that field of law seem to me far more adventurous and brave as to the need of psychiatry than Dr. Overholser is in the more dramatic and limited field of so-called mental cases.

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ON LAYING THEM LOW

MAURICE RAVEL, by Victor I. Seroff (Holt; $3.50). A LEXICON OF MUSICAL INVECTIVE, by Nicholas Slonimsky (Coleman-Ross; $6).

ANYONE who reads the program notes of symphony concerts knows that reviewers for the periodical press can, and frequently do, make serious errors in their judgments of new works of art. The ineffectuality of negative criticism is the subject of Mr. Slonimsky's new *Lexicon*, and it is a major topic in Mr. Seroff's study of Ravel's life. Unintentionally, I hope, Mr. Seroff's book demonstrates the truth of the old saw about the ways to skin a cat. The cat in this case, Ravel, was apparently flayed alive a good many times during the first part of this century by critics who wanted to dispose of him. Mr. Seroff has chosen to praise the man and his work, but has given us a dreary picture of them both in a biography which is little more than a documented record of the composer's public life, flavored with some gossip. Such a biography can surely be more damaging than a deliberately hostile work; it tends to foster Ravel's undeserved reputation as a brilliant but rather frivolous composer.

During the past few years, books like this, which give the man a dull-glazed unreality and provide no insight into his work, have become epidemic in music. They all tell the same story about the same unhappy childhood, some kind of precocity, the grand entrance into the conservatory, the struggle for recognition, the hostility of the press, professional quarrels, successes, and usually, a final sense of failure. This pattern applies to so many composers that it has lost all distinction in itself. As Halsey Stevens' recent biography of Bartok demonstrates, there are more pertinent things to be said.

Mr. Slonimsky's *Lexicon* is an anthology of scurrilous excerpts from reviews, dating back to Beethoven's time and dealing with almost fifty familiar composers. Slonimsky's thesis is that music is an art in progress, and that musical invective expresses the critic's natural conservatism, his distrust of the unfamiliar. Mr. Slonimsky does not say this, but he implies that Genius Will Out, and his book has been contrived to prove this point.

I wish that reviewing were indeed as harmless an occupation as this book would indicate. Neither you nor Mr. Slonimsky can ever know how many careers have been demolished at their outset by ill-tempered reviewers, or how many composers of genius have remained obscure because of a lack of critical support. As a rule, good press notices mean more performances, and bad ones have the opposite effect. Bad notices have a good effect on a career if they create some sort of a scandal or stir up a controversy, and if they come from an ill-equipped reviewer, they tend to enhance a composer's prestige. Good reviews, from any quarter, are always useful. What Slonimsky has neglected to mention is that every one of his maligned composers enjoyed strong, powerful critical support during his rise to fame; and that when, as in the case of Saint-Saens, the support was withdrawn, the reputation declined.

In spite of a few recent entries, this *Lexicon* would indicate that the Golden Age of musical invective is past, and I suppose it is. The fear of the new has been succeeded by the dread of being thought old fashioned.

The composers inveighed against in this collection are all men who, currently, are celebrated. I assume that Slonimsky proposes popular acceptance as the ultimate criterion, since tastes and the standards that go with them are in a constant state of flux. He may mean by this that all negative criticism is bad, or that it is wrong to have attacked a composer who later has success, or, benignly, that it is wise to keep an open mind. He may mean that novelty and innovation are, *ipso facto*, good, and that music which does not confuse a large part of its first audience is poor stuff; or finally, that nothing is good, nothing bad, and nothing matters in the least. Perhaps it is unfair to assume that Mr. Slonimsky is really interested in proving a point about esthetic criteria, but he is unfair to his readers in providing such a mass of misleading data. The only thing his book really proves is that musical invective is amusing to read.

ROBERT EVETT

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